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A N G L O - A M E R I C A N

C O M M I S S I O N

BY

EDWARD FARRER

FROM

T H E F O R U M

AUGUST 1898

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tain, however, is, that, with the interior distributing-points well garrisoned, discrimination might go very far toward turning the commercial current against the maritime races. Supposing such discrimination to succeed, and China to be closed, the centre of exchanges might move east from the Thames; and then London and New York could hardly fail to fall into geographical eccentricity. Before the discoveries of Vasco da Gama, Venice and Florence were relatively more energetic and richer than they. On the other hand, if an inference may be drawn from the past, Anglo-Saxons have little to fear in a trial of strength; for they have been the most successful of adventurers. They have risen to fortune by days like Plassey, the Heights of Abraham, and Manila; and although no one can be certain, before it has again been tested, that the race has preserved its ancient martial quality, at least aggression seems a less dangerous alternative than quiescence. The civilization which does not advance declines: the continent which, when Washington lived, gave a boundless field for the expansion of Americans, has been filled; and the risk of isolation promises to be more serious than the risk of an alliance. Such great movements, however, are not determined by argument, but are determined by forces which override the volition of man.

Should an Anglo-Saxon coalition be made, and succeed, it would alter profoundly the equilibrium of the world. Exchanges would then move strongly westward; and existing ideas would soon be as antiquated as those of a remote antiquity. Probably human society would then be absolutely dominated by a vast combination of peoples whose right wing would rest upon the British Isles, whose left would overhang the middle provinces of China, whose centre would approach the Pacific, and who would encompass the Indian Ocean as though it were a lake, much as the Romans encompassed the Mediterranean. BROOKS ADAMS.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMISSION.

In a letter to Talon, the Intendant at Quebec, Colbert, always in advance of his time, expressed a desire to see friendly relations prevail between the colonists of New France and the "English of Boston." It was advisable, he said, that the two peoples should trade with each other, that the English should have the same privileges in the French fishery as they granted in their fishery to the subjects of France, and that they should be allowed to traffic with the Indians of Pentagouet (the Penobscot River region) to the same extent as they permitted the French to trade with the Indians round about Boston. Talon, in short, should do his best to arrange "un traitemenr réciproque" all round. On another occasion he observed that this was probably the only way to preserve peace on the frontier: and peace was most desirable; for it would be a grave business if France, with so many weighty cares in the Old World, were exposed to the risk of war on account of disputes between her colonists and their English neighbors in the New World.

England's position in North America to-day is quite as embarrassing in that respect as Colbert's. In the two hundred years that have passed, the English of Boston have become a mighty nation, the larger half of the English-speaking race, the community, above all others in the world, with which England,

" Bearing on shoulders immense,
 Atlanteän, the load,
Well-nigh not to be borne,
 Of the too vast orb of her fate,"

desires in her own interest to be at peace. But, owing to the friction continually arising between these powerful kinsmen and her present North American colonies, it is not always easy to maintain peace. With the exception of the Venezuela controversy, which soon subsided, all the disputes that have taken place between England and the United States since the Geneva Award, that is to say, in the last five and twenty years, have been disputes of Canadian or Newfoundland origin. One of Sir Julian Pauncefote's predecessors declared that, but for Ottawa, he would have had a sinecure. The points at issue, too, are, from the nature of

the case, of little or no interest to Englishmen. More than once since 1818 war between England and the United States has been imminent because of a disagreement between Americans and Canadians over such distant and wholly unimpressive matters—so at least Englishmen must have considered them—as the right of a Massachusetts skipper to sail through the Gut of Canso in pursuit of mackerel, or to buy bait and molasses at a Cape Breton store. The Seal Question has been on the boards for ten years, and has led to the exchange between London and Washington of reams of vehement despatches; including the famous “shirt-sleeves” missive, which a generation or two ago would assuredly have precipitated war. Yet the aggregate tonnage of the British Columbia sealing-fleet, which is causing all the trouble, does not exceed 3,500 tons; while it is tolerably safe to say that, outside official circles, the merits of the controversy are not understood by a half-dozen persons in the United Kingdom.

The recent agreement between the United States and England for the appointment of an international commission to settle the various questions now at issue between the United States and Canada is characterized by a European diplomat as the “first-fruits of the close friendship that has sprung up between England and the United States since the war with Spain.” Perhaps I may be allowed to add that Sir Wilfrid Laurier began paving the way for a commission when he took office two years ago, and that his efforts, and those of the Liberal party of Canada, to promote a more cordial understanding between the United States and England date even further back.

Canadian Liberals have always insisted that an increase of commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States would tend to do away with the controversies—petty but irritating, like a cinder in the eye—which grow out of the enforcement of a high tariff on each side of the boundary, or, to speak more correctly, out of the unneighborly spirit which Protection is apt to generate. If, they said, England’s trade with Canada should suffer, as it most likely would, she would profit immensely by the removal of causes of difference with the United States.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier’s desire to see an adjusting commission appointed would have come to nothing, but for the support it received at Washington. Mr. McKinley may have been influenced by Britain’s friendly attitude toward the United States in the present war: it is natural and proper, I suppose, that he should. But he hails from a border State, and, as a man of affairs, must perceive the worldly wisdom of cultivating better relations with a neighbor who, though only five millions

strong, is now the third-best customer the United States has. One can fancy him saying: "The Republican party has taken a lot of trouble to extend trade with Central and South America. Why should we ignore Canada, a country which we can talk with by telephone, and reach by rail or water in a few hours, which last year bought more American goods, the product of American labor, than Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Chili, Colombia, Argentina, and the Central American States all put together?"

In his account of the causes which brought about the formation of the Prussian *Zollverein*, Ranke wrote in 1835:—

"We should not have complained that all our markets were overflowing with English manufactures, had not England, while she was inundating us with her productions, insisted on closing her markets to ours. England told us we were to buy, but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals: we vainly hoped that a sense of her own interest would lead to reciprocity. But we were disappointed; and we were compelled to take care of ourselves."

Canada has been undergoing a similar experience. Not to go further back, in the ten years, 1888-97, she bought from the United States for home consumption merchandise of the value of \$545,000,000. The duties amounted to \$76,000,000, or about 14 per cent; a good proportion of the goods being free raw materials and food-stuffs. During the same period Canada's purchases from England were \$385,000,000, on which \$84,000,000, or over 20 per cent, was paid in duty. On the other hand, while Canadian exports to Britain have been steadily growing, amounting in those ten years to \$580,000,000, Canadian exports to the United States, harassed by onerous duties at the frontier, have amounted to only \$420,000,000.

Last year the Canadian people concluded that the time had come for a change. It was scarcely fair, they reasoned, to do most of their buying from a neighbor who, witness the Dingley Bill, was not over-willing that they should sell, to the neglect of the mother-country, whose markets are wide open to everything they choose to send. Beginning, therefore, on August 1 of this year, there will be a reduction in the Canadian tariff of 25 per cent in favor of British goods and articles from certain British colonies,—*i.e.*, such goods will pay rates of duty less by 25 per cent than the rates imposed on goods coming from the United States and other foreign countries. Economically speaking, this may not be a sound move. But there it is—the germ, perhaps, of a British *Zollverein*.

It is hard to make people believe that those who tax their wares up to the hilt are not animated by ill-feeling toward them. Americans, of

course, bear no ill-will to Canada. When they think about her at all, they regard her as a country destined in the fulness of time to fall into the Union from sheer force of the law of attraction, and to be a source of health and strength to it; offsetting less desirable acquisitions which events seem to be thrusting upon the Republic. Yet, while none are more ready than Americans to strike back when they are struck at by the Tariff legislation of other countries, they do not make sufficient allowance for the feelings of those who writhe under their own heavy boots. There is no denying that Canadians have for years felt hurt at the treatment meted out to them by the Tariff Acts of Congress; and when the Dingley Bill became law, there was a well-nigh universal demand for giving British goods a preference. But if they wish to get the same tariff rate as Britain, to retain their export trade with Canada and to enlarge it, Americans can easily do so by being a little more liberal in their treatment of the Canadian farmer, lumberman, fisherman, and miner. They can lose nothing by making the experiment; for trade will not grow between the United States and Canada, or elsewhere, unless it is mutually beneficial. At present each Canadian man, woman, and child buys twelve dollars' worth of American goods annually—more *per capita* by a good deal than any other people on this continent. I do not suppose that the Commission will do more than make a beginning of Reciprocity; selecting a few articles, natural and manufactured, for reduced duties or for the Free List. But, as a matter of fact, there is nothing to hinder the American export trade with Canada from being augmented from \$60,000,000 to \$100,000,000 a year—nothing but the unwillingness or timidity of Americans themselves. Certain persons are raising the cry of "Canadian cheap labor," although surely it is demonstrable that the well-paid American artisan, with his energy and intelligence and elaborate machinery, and with the huge home market which enables the specialization of his labor and machinery to be carried to the extremest limits, is the cheapest producer in the world; reckoning cost of production, as we ought to do, by the cost per yard or per pound.

Mr. Blaine used to insist that Canada should be shut out of the United States market till such time as she elected to enter the Union: he was sure "the eagle would do well not to fatten the lion's whelp." It goes without saying that exclusion from the American market is a serious loss to Canada: it hinders, as nothing else could, the development of her resources, and the settlement of her vast areas of virgin land. Between exclusion from the United States market and the competition of French bounty-fed cod, Newfoundland, England's oldest col-

ony, has been reduced to bankruptcy; and the British West Indies have suffered a like fate through exclusion from the United States market and through the competition of bounty-fed beet sugar.

But the loss is not all on one side. One of the earliest instances of harsh fiscal legislation was the refusal of the Romans to allow their transalpine allies to grow olives or vines. They did this to keep up the price of oil and wine in Italy. The old colonial policy of England, France, and Spain was based on the same sophism. But no modern statesman who looks into the thing can believe that his country derives nothing but benefit from a policy which impoverishes its neighbors. If Canada has suffered, manifestly the United States has suffered too in being deprived through all these years of just so many consumers of American iron, pork, and corn. As for the political effect,—Mr. Blaine's object apparently being to starve Canada into the Union,—it is a fact that the feeling in favor of annexation was more widespread in Canada during the life (1854-66) of the Elgin-Marcy Reciprocity Treaty than it has been at any time since. Of all people Americans have the best right to know how hateful coercion is to men of English blood. It has never been applied successfully to an English-speaking community, nor, for the matter of that, to any community worth having.

The Alien Labor Laws in force in the two countries will be considered by the Commission, with the view of reaching some satisfactory modification. It will be remembered that some years ago Congress passed an Act imposing a head-tax on immigrants, and excluding convicts, lunatics, and persons unable to take care of themselves. This law was favorably regarded in Canada, which often receives immigrants of an undesirable sort. But, when Congress went further and, in consequence of what had occurred in Pennsylvania,—where European laborers had been imported to take the place of strikers,—added a provision excluding foreign laborers and mechanics who, previous to embarkation, had entered into contracts to work in the United States, trouble at once arose at points like Buffalo and Detroit, where quite a number of Canadian mechanics were stopped and sent back. The Canadian labor organizations are affiliated with the labor organizations of the United States; and when non-union men were hired in Canada to supplant strikers in the United States, the inspector on the American side got a hint, and arrests followed. By and by an Alien Labor Law was demanded in Canada; and one was recently passed containing pretty much the same provisions as the American enactment. The man in the United States who hires over there to come to Canada is now treated as contraband.

Both laws, however, are readily evaded. There is nothing in either to prevent an American or Canadian laborer from crossing the line to work, provided he makes his bargain with the employer on his arrival in the other country, and not before. At the same time much ill-feeling is caused by arrests. In some cases—as, for example, where a servant-girl, leaving Canada with her mistress, was stopped at the frontier on the ground that she had left under contract—the law has been set in motion by malevolence. American laboring-men complain of the French-Canadians who work in the United States in summer and return home in winter—a class known in French Canada as *hirondelles*. They admit that European laborers come and go in the same way. In Canada there are complaints against Italian navvies, who come from the United States to work on new railways, and return with their savings.

The dispute over the boundary between Alaska and the Canadian Yukon, which the Commission will endeavor to settle, has become an important one, owing to the Klondike gold discoveries. The United States having obtained title to Alaska by purchase from Russia, the boundary between Canada and Alaska is governed by the convention entered into between Great Britain and Russia in 1825. The Boundary articles of this convention are as follows:

“3. The line of demarcation between the possessions of the high contracting parties upon the coast of the continent and the islands of America to the northwest shall be drawn in the manner following :

Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54° 40' north latitude, and between the one hundred and thirty-first and one hundred and thirty-third degrees of west longitude (Meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the one hundred and forty-first degree, in its prolongation as far as the frozen ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the northwest.

4. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood :

- (a) That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.
- (b) That wherever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the one hundred and forty-first degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom.”

With respect to the interpretation of this description, it is asserted on behalf of Canada: (1) That the point of commencement is Cape Chacon, at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, in latitude $54^{\circ} 42'$ or thereabouts. The line does not begin from a parallel of latitude, but from a point on an island. (2) As to its course from this point, it is believed that a more consistent reading of the convention will be arrived at by omitting the words "called Portland Channel": for, to reach Portland Chanéel, it is necessary to go nearly due east from the point of beginning; and this channel does not reach so far north as the fifty-sixth degree of latitude. The line, accordingly, should run from Cape Chacon northward along Clarence Strait and Ernest Sound; reaching the continent at the fifty-sixth parallel on the shore of the narrow strait called Seward Passage.

It is thought the United States will claim that the line is to follow the parallel of latitude $54^{\circ} 40'$ due east to the entrance of the inlet called on the charts Portland Inlet; thence to follow that inlet and Portland Canal to its head; and thence in a straight line to the point which may be decided upon as the initial point of the boundary-line north of the fifty-sixth degree. On behalf of Canada it is claimed that, if the words "Portland Channel" in the convention are applied to Portland Canal on the present charts, the line, to reach Portland Canal, is not to go by Portland Inlet, but to the north of Wales and Pearse Islands. "From this last-mentioned point," that is, the point at which the line drawn according to the preceding portion of the description reaches the fifty-sixth parallel, the line of demarcation should follow the summits of the mountains alongside of and nearest to the coast, as far as the one hundred and forty-first degree of longitude. "The coast" here means the ocean coast; that is, the mainland looking toward the ocean, and not the shores of inlets.

It is believed that the contention of the United States in this particular will be that the shores of the inlets, however far they may run into the interior of the continent, are to be taken as the coast; and again, that on account of the extreme irregularity of the mountain ranges in that region, the tracing of a consistent line along the summits of the mountains parallel to the coast is impossible, and that, therefore, recourse must be had to the alternative line of the convention—a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast, and ten marine leagues distant from tidewater.

Pending the final location of the boundary, the United States occupies the coast from the Lynn Canal to Portland Canal; leaving Canada

dependent for access to the Klondike from the seaboard on a circuitous land-and-river route from Observatory Inlet or Alice Arm. The true commercial route to the Klondike is that *via* the Lynn Canal; and no doubt railway communication will soon be established from there to Selkirk and Dawson City, provided the two Governments can agree as to the bonding privilege.

The bonding system in general will be discussed: but the Commission is not likely to disturb the existing arrangement, which rests on legislation by the United States and Canada; the bonding provisions of the Washington Treaty of 1871 having, it is held, lapsed.¹ In the Treaty of 1794 between the United States and England it was provided that "no duties shall be payable on any goods which shall merely be carried over any of the portages or carrying-places on either side" of the boundary between the United States and Canada, "for the purpose of being immediately reëmbarked and carried to some other place." This was the germ of the bonding system. As the development of the two countries proceeded, the system grew more complex. Upper and Lower Canada, now known as Ontario and Quebec, had access in summer to the Atlantic by the St. Lawrence ports of Montreal and Quebec; but in winter they were cut off. This led them to ask for the privilege of using ports on the American seaboard in winter, which was conceded by the United States. Subsequently the Western States were allowed by Canada to send their products in bond by the Lakes and the St. Lawrence to Montreal, as well as to Oswego and Ogdensburg, and to bring goods from Europe and from the Eastern States the same way. In 1856, with the completion of American railways running to the boundary, the transit of goods in bond by rail from United States places through Canada to other United States places—States-to-States traffic—was permitted by Canada; while the United States permitted goods to be carried in bond from one Province to another through American territory.

A glance at the map will show that these arrangements were, so to say, forced upon the two countries by the physical configuration of the upper part of the continent. In winter, when the St. Lawrence is frozen, the nearest seaports to Montreal and Toronto are Portland, Jefferson, and New York. On the other hand, the Province of Ontario projects for four hundred miles into American territory; parts of it are that

¹ President CLEVELAND's Message on Relations with Canada, August 23, 1888; and President HARRISON's, on the Transportation of Imported Merchandise, etc., February 2, 1893.

much south of a straight line drawn from the top of Minnesota to the top of Maine; the inhabited portion lies directly in the path of communication between Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan in the West and New York and New England in the East; so that, as the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee has observed, the traffic over the Canadian railways "has been of inestimable value to the New England States and of vast importance to the Northwestern States, and especially to Chicago."

The Michigan Central runs through Ontario on its way from the Detroit to the Niagara River. The Canadian Pacific runs through Maine and Vermont on its way from the St. Lawrence to its connections with Boston and to St. John and Halifax; in the West, subsidiary lines enable it to reach Duluth and Minneapolis from Sault Ste. Marie, and to penetrate through Dakota; whilst it uses an American line of steamers to convey freight from its British Columbia termini to San Francisco and other points on the Pacific. The Northern Pacific owns lines within Canadian territory, which have received a subsidy from the Manitoba Government; a line controlled by Americans runs from Spokane Falls into the Kootenay district of British Columbia; and the Great Northern enters British Columbia as far as New Westminster by a line from Seattle. The Canadian roads exchange freight and passengers along the international boundary with some thirty American railways. The bridges over the Niagara River, those over the St. Lawrence,—including the Victoria Bridge at Montreal,—and the tunnel under the St. Clair River form part of the network of intercommunication. The transportation interests of the two countries are, in fact, inextricably woven together along the whole length of the boundary from Maine to Michigan, and are rapidly becoming interlaced in the newer regions between the Great Lakes and the Pacific Ocean.

It has been asserted that the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk—the Canadian Pacific more particularly—make a great deal of money out of their States-to-States traffic, and that, as they are not subject to the Interstate Commerce Act, and have been subsidized out of the Canadian Treasury, their competition with American railways for that traffic is unfair. From a circular recently issued by the United States Treasury it appears that in 1897 5,350,000 tons of States-to-States traffic were carried by rail through Canada. I do not know what the aggregate interstate tonnage of all the railways in the United States may be; but obviously 5,350,000 tons cannot be more than an unimportant fraction of it. It turns out that all of it was not carried by the

Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk: the Michigan Central, an American line, carried very nearly one-half. Published returns of the Canadian Pacific show that the States-to-States business done by that road in 1897 did not amount, all told, to more than 350,000 tons, the earnings from which, it has been pointed out, did not equal the sum spent by the Company in the purchase of American plant and material.

I cannot deal here with the construction subsidies paid to the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk, except to say that they have been seriously, though quite unintentionally, exaggerated by Senator Elkins. The answer of these two roads to the charge, that they do not observe the Interstate Act, is that they observe it on their American as well as on their Canadian lines as faithfully as the purely American roads, and are ready at any time to submit their books to inspection at Washington. One thing is tolerably clear: the American shipper is benefited by having access to the Canadian lines, or he would not use them,—from which we may conclude that the demand for their exclusion from States-to-States traffic is not put forward in his interest.

A revision of the agreement of 1817 respecting gunboats on the Great Lakes may be attempted by the Commission; and an effort will be made to establish joint regulations for the protection of fish in the Great Lakes and on the seaboard. Something will be done, too, toward getting rid, once for all, of the North Atlantic Fishery Question, which has for so long been a source of irritation. Canadians contend that, by Article 1 of the Treaty of 1818, Americans renounced forever the right to enter Canadian ports, except to procure wood and water, to obtain shelter, and to make repairs. Eminent American authorities, notably Senator Hoar, maintain that prior to 1818 no American vessels, whether employed in fishing or in commerce, had a right to enter a Canadian port; consequently everything stipulated in the Treaty in behalf of American fishing-vessels was a clear gain, favoring them above all other American vessels. But now, by the Canadian interpretation, these same fishermen are treated as if they had no part in the humane and liberal policies of later times.

For many years the British Government enforced the Canadian interpretation by her ships of war; American vessels being seized for entering Canadian ports for purposes other than those named, or for fishing, or preparing to fish, within the three-mile limit or within certain bays, or for hovering in Canadian waters without being in need of shelter or repairs, wood or water. But early in 1871, the Washington negotiations being at hand, England adopted a different view, and warned the

Ottawa Government that, while the exclusion of the Americans "might be warranted by the letter of the treaty," it was, nevertheless, an "extreme measure, inconsistent with the general policy of the Empire." Canada, however, insisted on the interpretation, and placed cruisers of her own on the sea, except while the Fishery clauses of the Washington Treaty were in force, and her fish had free entry to the American market. When those clauses lapsed, she again began seizing American vessels; and things went from bad to worse until 1888, when the Bayard-Chamberlain negotiations took place. The treaty drafted at that time failed to pass the United States Senate; but a *modus vivendi* was established whereby on payment of an annual tonnage-tax American fishermen were allowed to enter Canadian ports to purchase bait, ice, seines, and all other supplies, to ship crews, and to tranship their catch in bond to Canadian railways or to steamers bound for the United States.

This is how the matter stands at present. Aside from the meaning of Article 1, whatever it may be, Americans hold that, inasmuch as they permit Canadian fishing-vessels to enter American ports free of charge for bonding and all other commercial purposes, it is not fair for Canadians to refuse the same privilege to them,—more especially since Canadians concede it to the fishermen of the Miquelon Islands, whose cod receive a bounty, and whose country, France, levies prohibitory duties on fish, and performs no neighborly service at all for Canada. American fishermen contend, furthermore, that if the bonding system between the two countries is to be preserved, it must, at least, be administered equitably, and that they are as much entitled to bond fish as is the Ontario farmer to bond wheat or potatoes. The bonding privilege has sprung up since the Treaty of 1818, and must be held to supersede any restrictions in that venerable parchment. It is the firm belief of the American fisherman that the "cussedness" of Canadians in this matter is due to a belief that, if they continue to worry him, Congress will give them free access for their fish to the United States market in order to buy them off. He does not want to share in their in-shore fisheries, which they prize so much, but merely to bond in Canadian ports the fish he catches in the deep sea, so that he may save the time now lost in running to and fro between the Banks and Gloucester.

The Bering Sea Question is another topic on which the Commission will strive to reach an agreement. Congress has paid the amount (\$470,000) awarded by Judge Putnam and Mr. Justice King as damages for the seizure by United States vessels of British Columbia sealers prior to the reference of the general case to the Paris Tribunal. The United

States wishes to see pelagic sealing still further restricted, and, if possible, stopped. But the Canadian sealers cannot very well be prevented by the Canadian Government from carrying on an industry sanctioned by international arbitration. The sealers aver that, as it is, their industry is restricted to death. They are excluded from the three-mile limit along the coast of the United States in the North Pacific; they may not approach the Pribilof Islands within a zone of sixty miles; they may not use firearms of any kind in Bering Sea, nor rifles in the water-area lying north of 35° north latitude and eastward to the one hundred and eightieth degree of longitude till it strikes the water-boundary described in the Treaty of 1867, following that line up to Bering Strait, about 5,000,000 square miles. They are precluded from using nets and explosives in that area, and from taking seals in it in any manner between May 1 and July 31. Further, they may not take seals within a zone of thirty miles round the Kommandorski Islands, nor within a zone of thirty miles of Robben Island, Okhotsk Sea, nor within a zone of ten miles on any of the Russian coasts on the mainland in the North Pacific. Last, but not least, their sealskins are now excluded from the United States market. The only way apparently of putting a stop to pelagic sealing is to buy out the Canadian sealers, whose fleet, in consequence of these restrictions, has dwindled to fifty-four vessels, aggregating 3,400 tons.

EDWARD FARRER.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY UNDER THE REIGN OF FRANCIS JOSEPH.—II.

As already shown, the compromise of 1867 did not reëstablish the *Personal-Union* of the old territorial system. On the contrary, by its provisions, the actual union between the two divisions of the Empire was maintained, and, with this union, that unity and uniformity of system as to essentials which had been introduced by Schwarzenberg. This was true in a still higher degree of each half of the Empire *per se*. Upon the whole, it may be said that the uniformity of government consummated under Bach has been maintained to the present day. In Hungary, indeed, the idea of centralization has been more strongly accentuated; while in Austria, despite the abolition of absolutism, questions of central importance are no longer submitted to the crown lands and their parliaments.

By reason of the compromise with Hungary, Austria proper on December 21, 1867, framed a new constitution in place of that of 1861. According to this new constitution, the Imperial Diet and the various federal departments at Vienna are empowered to exercise jurisdiction in the following matters and departments; viz., international treaties; Department of Army Reserves (these reserves in Austria, as in Germany, are recruited from the regular army); the Department of Finance; the Department of Direct and Indirect Taxes; the control and supervision of accounts; the national debt; money, weights, and measures; postal and railway systems; shipping; banks; sanitary legislation; laws affecting the national and civil qualification of citizens; the police system for the surveillance of foreigners, and the Department of Passports; the Census Department; religious affairs; the privileges of societies, and the right of public assemblage; censorship and copyright; the Department of Education; the Departments of Criminal and Civil Law; legislation affecting the organization of the courts and of the administrative departments; the administration of the laws affecting the general rights of citizens; and, finally, all affairs affecting the relations between the various crown lands of Austria. Although all other matters are controlled by the legislative bodies of the several kingdoms, lands, and municipal corporations, it will readily be seen that the power vested in the

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EDITED BY J. M. RICE

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- 1st. *Credit.*—High with publishers.
- 2d. *Experience.*—Long in placing advertising.
- 3d. *Judgment.*—Competent to advise as to the fitness of mediums to the business advertised.
- 4th. *Knowledge.*—Essential as to the importance and circulation of mediums.
- 5th. *Painstaking Care.*—A necessity in the execution of orders.
- 6th. *Rates.*—The best obtainable consistent with good service.

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**TOILET
POWDER**
AFTER BATHING
AND SHAVING.

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Delightful After Bathing.
A Luxury After Shaving.

A Positive Relief for
PRICKLY HEAT,
CHAFING and SUNBURN,
and all afflictions of the skin.
Removes all odor of perspiration.
GET MENNEN'S (the original),
a little higher in price, perhaps,
than worthless substitutes, but
there is a reason for it.

Refuse all other powders,
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Sold everywhere, or mailed for
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A BOUQUET OF FRESH CUT CARNATIONS IN A SINGLE DROP OF : * : *

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Try also

ED. PINAUD'S

French Carnation Pink Face Powder,
French Carnation Pink Toilet Soap, at
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BACKED UP BY THE NATION.

Williams' Soaps sold everywhere, but sent by mail if your dealer does not supply you.

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Williams' Shaving Soap (Barbers'), 6 Round Cakes, 2 lb., 40c. Exquisite also toilet. Trial cake for 2c, stamp.

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\$125

Makes Hill Climbing Easy.
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POPE MFG. CO., Hartford, Ct.



Crawford Bicycles

\$50 AND \$35

Boys' and Girls' Crawfords,
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